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E.O. 12865: ROS-1,3 6/8/02 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.) TAGSI PEPR, US, XF, XG SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTERS ON LEBANON

REF: A) STATE 157427 (S/S 8216017) .

- 1. (CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT)
- 2. SECRETARY HAS APPROVED FOLLOHING MESSAGES TO EUROPEAN POREIGN HINISTERS ON LEBANON. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD DELIVER MESSAGES ASAP.
- 3. BEGIN TEXTIL OF

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DEAR

IT IS ALREADY CLEAR FROM PHIL HABIB'S TALKS IN ISRAEL THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH WHATEVER PRESSURES MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON THEM IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD AS WE THY TO BRING ABOUT THEIR WITHDRAWAL.

THE ISRAELIS APPEAR FULLY DETERMINED TO SET UP A BUFFER ZONE IN LEBANON WIDE ENOUGH TO ASSURE THAT HOSTILE ARTILLERY OR ROCKETS CANNOT REACH ISRAEL, WHILE IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE ISRAELIS DO NUT HANT TO KEEP PERMANENT OCCUPATION FONCES IN THAT AREA, THEY WILL PROBABLY STAY THERE UNTIL SOME SOLUTION IS DEVISED BY THEM OR BY OTHERS.

WHATEVER THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN THE ISRAELI POSITION, WE HAVE A NEW SITUATION ON OUR HANDS, THERE IS NO PROSPECT THAT CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON CAN RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE, IT IS UP TO US TO THINK IMAGINATIVELY AND COLLECTIVELY ON WAYS TO CHANGE WHAT WILL OTHERWISE BE AN INTOLERABLE SITUATION.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE MUST AIM AT DEVELOPING A NEW STATUS UND WHICH WOULD REST ON TWO BASIC COMPONENTS.

FIRST, A NEW STATUS QUO SHOULD PRUTECT AND ULTIMATELY ENHANCE THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON, ENABLING THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO EXTEND ITS SOVEREIGN CONTROL ALL THE WAY TO THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDER. SECOND, THE NEW SITUATION HE SHOULD TRY TO CREATE MUST SIGNIFICANTLY AND, IDEALLY, TOTALLY REDUCE THE SECURITY THREAT TO ISRAEL FROM PALESTINIANS AND OTHER INSURGENTS AND ACHIEVE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES.

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THIS PROBLEM DESERVES THE BEST THINKING OF ALL OF US IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE. EACH OF US HAS A STAKE IN LEBANON, BE IT MORAL COMMITMENT, HISTORIC TIES, PREVIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACEKEEPING PRESENCE, OR STRATEGIC CONCERNS.

WE SHOULD THINK OF WAYS TO BRING OUR COLLECTIVE INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON THE PROBLEM IN LEBANON, AND NOT SIMPLY THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM DEALING WITH THE PRESENT ISRASLI OCCUPATION. THE PROBLEM IN LEBANON SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN OTHER THAN A PURELY ARAB CONTEXT, WHERE THE SYMIANS AND PALESTINIANS EXERT DISPHOPORTIONATE INFLUENCE AND CONTROL.

WE COULD MOVE TOWARDS THIS POSITION BY DEVELOPING A COURDINATED APPROACH TOWARDS PEACEKEEPING IN SOUTHERN LEBANDN. (FOR USE WITH DUTCH, FRENCH AND NORWEIGIANS) IN THE MEANTIME, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT UNIFIL HEMAIN INTACT AND THAT YOU AND OTHER TRUOP CONTRIBUTING STATES MAINTAIN YOUR FORCES THERE. WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO ENSURE THAT THE ISRAELIS DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THEM.)

ONLY IF WE HAVE A COORDINATED APPROACH WHICH DEALS FIRST WITH PEACEKEEPING AND ULTIMATELY WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION CAN WE HOPE TO ASSIST LEBANON, PROMOTE STABILITY, AND COUNTER SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THIS VITAL ISSUE WITH YOU DURING THE NATO MEETINGS,

BEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

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ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.

HAIG

CONLINEWITER

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